304 /72 cont./

[142] [144] Generally long ears, pyriform, protruding, and with the lobes almost always held tightly. In all the cases that we could verify (more than two hundred individuals of both sexes and from various tribes, whose anthropometric measurements we took), we could observe on the dorsal part of the auricular pavilion (on both pavilions or only one, and generally in the lower part) a scar of varying shape and size. In many cases it looked like teeth marks, with the mark of two or three teeth. No one knew or they all refused to give any explanation for this scar, answering, as they frequently do, "I do not know," or "that is the way it is," or again "it is from birth." A young woman affirmed that it was her uncle who executed it, and she did not want to say anything else. A youth gave the information that it had been done by his mother when he was still small, for the purpose of his later being able to attach the feather for the dances there. An explanation that obviously was not satisfactory, because he did not have pierced ears. [115] [192] Dorotéia Brito, much later, told that such a scar is called Wĩx-tĩ-bu'békaro (orifice of Wĩx-tĩ), but did not say anything about the origin, affirming that it was from birth. It seemed to us that we could establish, as in fact we did: 1st, that it is artificial, from the appearance; 2nd, it is done before the puberty rites, because we found it on prepubescent children; 3rd, the name of Wĩx-tĩ-bu'békaro is an indication that they judge it to be of magic or transcendental value. Maybe even a rite of symbolic value, like the circumcision of the Jews. [115] These provisional conclusions were confirmed in September of 1956, when the Tukano Antônio Barreto, who [553] exhibited these scars on both ears, not only confirmed the term Wĩx-tĩ-bu'békaro, but added that it is done by the father, by the mother, or any other person, after the child has received a name (cf. Rite of the imposition of the name, VIII-1, b (4)), that is, from 3 to 5 years of age. He maintained, however, that he did not know its significance.

/281 cont./

i) His social role.

756 626 The pajé represents the highest intellectual level of the native povoado, and, not only that, but he is also the stickler for the observance of the tribal laws. He knows them, teaches them, and demands their fulfillment, being able to punish (34),

> 34. He is, then, the major opponent of the assimilation of our culture on the part of the forest dweller.

with sicknesses, lightning, and, finally, malefices, disrespect toward traditional practices.

756 [852] [844] He presides over all social life, that of the family as well as of the group. When a child is born, the one who will blow on it, exorcise it, and paint it with carajurú /carajura/, in order that it will grow up strong and free from sicknesses, is the pajé; and he will also give the medicines to the woman in labor.

[553] In some tribes the giving of the name is done in the presence of the pajé. Covering the child with smoke with his indispensable cigar, under the inspiration of the moment, he will give or will suggest the name to the father, who is about to choose a name indicated by any circumstance whatsoever, perhaps even an indecent name.

[881] When the girl reaches puberty, the pajé will spend some time with her, giving her timely theoretical and practical instructions about maternity and obligations inherent in it.

At the time of the masculine initiation, it falls to him to teach the young men the traditional legends, their rights and duties as members of the group, the ritual practices, and to verify their ability by means of interrogations, punishments, flagellations, fasts, etc.

He is also the principal instructor of the Komũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), on whose capacity he will pass judgment, and of whom he will always be the supervisor, gathering them together periodically in assembly and giving them opportune directions for every circumstance.

/429 cont./

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/footnote 47 cont./ himself in the hammock and on a diet, in order that his son's condition would not be aggravated; the latter was saved, thanks to the antiophidian injection that was immediately applied to him by the Missionary.

846 The wife, then, is the one who will carefully serve the husband.

For four days both the father and the mother will nourish themselves only with mingau, being forbidden the use of fish. This is the diet taboo.

[842] The newborn child is a reproduction of the father. The mother plays only the role of the ground in which the seed germinated; the one who produced the seed was the tree, whose nature the seed will reproduce. From this concept (48)

> 48. It is a concept evidently patriarchalist. It is to be noted that Pe. João Marchesi affirms that he has heard from the Tukano Tuxaua Julio, from Pari-cachoeira, expressions similar to those of the Jews (who were patriarchalists): "The children of my womb."

logically come two consequences: the first is the chôco or protection of the father, the second is that the child belongs to the paternal tribe and not to the one of its mother.

• 553 4) Giving the name.

Around three years of age, when the child already walks freely and begins to talk and to give the first indications of understanding, /430/ they proceed with the rite of giving the name, a rite which ends with a caxiri.

*[192] Until that moment the child is Oɛ̃, that is, "without name." This is how they translate it for us, not knowing how to give any other explanation for this term.

/430 cont./

• 553 It falls to the father, according to the report by the Taryana Teodora, to choose a name. Any circumstance of the moment or a certain peculiarity noticed in the child will inspire the name. It is seen that thus the names may be repeated, and, as a matter of fact, they are repeated with great frequency, although there is no obligation to give the name of the ancestors (49).

> 49. The obligation to give the newborn children the names of the ancestors is a custom of those who admit reincarnation, and those of these tribes are not such.

With the realistic mentality of the native, there can appear not only beautiful and poetic names, but also ridiculous and even indecorous ones.

At the invitation of the father, two older men, possibly the pajé and Komũ, or two Komũã, equipped with a cigar, and one of them also with a pot (as Dorotéia Brito said) with live coals and resin, at the place of the birth itself, blow the smoke and perfume the environment round about, as well as the child's mother, "in order for her not to get sick," they explain. For this reason it is called "Blown Name, Baxséke Wamẽ." It is a rite which gives value to the name given and has the magical power to conjure away from the child any malefice.

*[192] This function lasts an entire day from sun to sun (50).

> 50. In July of 1955 the seringalista Armando Sarmento was able to witness a similar ceremony among the Kubẽwana of the upper Uaupés. He then observed that between the cuias of caxirí and the smokings of the ritual cigar, the Komũã would narrate the story of the origins of the group, with the peculiarity that, if it is a matter of a child of the female sex, the narrators omit the passages referring to Wãx-tí.

[562]

/430 cont./

553 There further appears in this rite a woman with the function of
[608] Pax-koá, which they translate for us as Madrinha /Godmother/.
[302] The child is left to its own devices, amusing itself inside the
[824] maloca, but at intervals its pax-koá pours over it abundantly a
black dye, prepared with the plant ve'é, letting it run down over
[273] the head and body of the baby. The Komũã and all those present
help themselves in a profusion of the drink (caxirí) prepared for
this event and which is also given to the child.

[115] Later we learned what Stradelli had written about the giving
[178] of the name, and we read it to Dorotéia Brito, who confirmed
that everything takes place still today just as it was written by
that author at the end of the last century. For this reason we
transcribe what one reads in his Vocabulário Nheengatú-Português
in the entry Mucera (p. 537):

"That of giving the name is one of the charming native cere-
monies, which I have witnessed more than once. The giving of
the name is done /431/ when the child who is to receive it has
already started to talk and already walks by itself -- between
two and three years of age. On the appointed day the neighbors
all gather from early morning, soon after the morning bath, in
the house of the parents. The pagé, the father of the child, and
the oldest one of the relatives, who have taken a bath earlier,
have been shut up since before sunrise in a special compartment
[276] prepared ad hoc, at the end opposite the entrance. Each one has
in his hand a cuia of carajurú /carajura/ of the light, and in the
ground, amidst the three of them, is thrust the ceremonial cigar.
Those who arrive sit down on seats arranged in such a way as to
leave in the center, between the front door and the back door,
a free and unobstructed passage. The women go to the kitchen.
[782] The three who are shut up in the small room, after each of them
has filled his cheeks with smoke, soon after sunrise blow over the
cuias of carajuru in all directions, invoking by their names the
mothers of the things that live in the sky, in the waters, and on
the land to come and pay attention to the name which the child
is about to receive, in order to protect him and accompany him

/431 cont./

553 782 [562] through life, as they have protected and accompanied his parents and grandparents, who never failed to provide what is due the mothers of things. The litany is not short, and they spend hours in the invocation, made in a loud voice, but without accompaniment on the part of those attending, who, seated on the seats, in the hammocks, on the ground, wherever they can, fill the house, and drink cachiry, which is served abundantly by the women, who are in the kitchen and come only for this service. When the sun reaches the highest point, that is, at midday, the officiants, who remained smoking and drinking silently since the first invocation ended, start again. The third invocation begins about two hours before sunset; but then there are already found in the house not only the men, but also all the women and all the children, and everyone repeats in loud voices the name of each mother of things [821] that the three elders invoke. The child who is to receive the name is left to play as it wishes in the middle of the room with the other children, if there are any, and when the last ray of the sun is about to disappear, the pagé, who with the child's father and the oldest relative has come out of the little room where he spent the day, holds it in his arms and, presenting it to the sun in such a way as to make it receive the last rays, says the name, and this is then repeated by everyone in loud voices. The name that the child 551 receives is often the name which one of the grandparents already • 553 bore or some other name which might be pleasing at the moment, and this especially if it is a matter of the chief's child. Many times, however, the child's name is chosen and given to it in consideration of the object that it was holding at the moment when the pagé held it to present it to the sun, to the gesture that it made, to the word that it said, because then it is as if the sun itself /432/ had given it the name. This, then, explains how in many cases, when one looks for the meaning of the native names, one has the surprise of finding the most foolish meanings."

[177] It is observed at present that, even before the baptism, besides the Baxséke Wamẽ given by the pagé, it receives another Christian name, or, better, a name which the civilized customarily use. In general they are not called by name, except by this Christian name.

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the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large communal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The Cubeo culture hero *Kŭwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuvi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the complex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürŭwä* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

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177 Thus, for the Cubeo,
551 being endowed with a Spanish or Portuguese name is one of the most
182 exciting and valued gifts he can get from a white man. It is a benefice
he cherishes far more than the white man can possibly appreciate. It
[553] has a double value, as a gift and as a free medium of appellation. I
met no Indian no matter how unacculturated who did not have a
[123] European name. To have value the name should be bestowed by a
white man. When I bestowed names upon newborn children, as well
as upon youngsters who were still unnamed, I was asked to give the
genealogical references for the name from my own family line. I
learned of no Indian child on the Cuduiarí who had a European
name that had not been bestowed upon him by a white man, and the
Indians remembered the genealogical references. It cannot be said
that the possession of a European name gave the Indian an actual
sense of kinship with the white man, for which far more than a name
would be required. But the name did serve to offset to some degree
the conventional estrangement between Indian and white.

177 On the whole, culture change on the Vaupés and along its tribu-
[797] taries has been gradual except for those instances where missionaries
have brought Indians together into a mission village. In 1940 the
European economy of the Vaupés had no strong interest in a "civi-
lized" Indian. The exploitation of wild rubber – there were no culti-
vated rubber plantations in the region – was on a small scale for
[464] which the labor of "wild" Indians was altogether suitable. Nor did
the undeveloped economy of Mitú call for disciplined Indian labor.
At the level at which the economy of the Vaupés had developed in
1940 the Indian was of greater value in his native state, simply because
as an Indian and completely self-sufficient he was at least no burden
upon the meager resources of an underdeveloped frontier area.

177 Many Indians of the Cuduiarí had visited Mitú, the capital of the
648 *Comisaría* of the Vaupés. Mitú was established as the capital in
1936. Before that it was a small trading center and missionary station.
After 1936 it began to acquire the features of an important adminis-
trative center (Plazas Olarte, 1944). By 1939 it had an administration
building, a school for Indian children, a medical dispensary, a new
missionary order, partly Colombian and partly French, a radio sta-
tion, a landing wharf for a monthly military hydroplane, and a police
garrison. The population, numbering about 1,000, consisted mainly
of Colombians, a few Brazilians, and a floating group of Indians
drawn to the administrative center by curiosity or by some business.
Many Indian women lived there as wives of white men.

While the Indians of the Vaupés and of the Cuduiarí were not
altogether comfortable in Mitú, because of their shyness in dealing

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614 although they understood the *Örabawa* usage very well. The *Pedikwa*
[554] are, of course, a sib with high status because they occupy a cataract on the Cuduiarí that they regard as an original emergence site. The *Kendnikauwü* are a subsib of the *Pedikwa*. In the case of these two sibs I would hazard the guess that it is their present association with an emergence site that warrants this respect usage. In the case of the *Piardwa* I have no explanation other than the suggestion from Koch-Grünberg's information that since they call themselves *Olá-Piardwa* they may actually be a subsib of the *Örabawa* and hence have a special claim to respect.

In the neighboring Tucano tribe the seniority usages among the sibs of each phratry are very systematically developed (Fulop, 1955). By comparison the *Bahükiwa* seniority respect usages with other sibs are only fragmentary.

561 Distinctions of relative age have their counterparts in behavior.
571 Seniority commands precedence in succession to the headmanship
[622] in the household of the headman. In all households seniority is ac-
[857] corded respect and ritual precedence. Among children, the eldest of
[614] a play group is expected to be leader. When members of a sib come
[796] to attend a ceremony at another sib house they present themselves at the door in order of seniority and are greeted by a receiving line also formed in order of seniority. During the early stages of a cere-
[622] mony, when all is still formal, chicha, coca, tobacco, and *mihí* are also passed among sibmates in order of seniority. Seniority cannot be said to confer authority, however, since the Cubeo are reluctant to endow anyone with authority. Even the headman governs by a principle that is not quite that of authority.

561 As between men and women, seniority has a different significance,
562 because of the ritual separation of the sexes. In the etiquette of cere-
796 mony women take precedence according to the order of precedence
[622] of their husbands and not by their own relative age. The wife of a headman has a position vis à vis the women of the house as her husband has in the sib generally. An older sister who has been a substi-
[593] tute mother to all her younger siblings is regarded by them with a mixture of respect and affection. In later years, should she return to
[614] the sib as a widow, a divorcée, or with her husband, a ceremonial
[553] role is open to her as sib "mother," from whose breast may be drawn the ritual milk that an infant drinks at the time a sib name is being bestowed upon it.

593 A younger sister has a special role with respect to an older brother.
561 She is often assigned to him for use in an exchange that will bring
584 him a bride. As an older sister is a "mother" to her younger brother

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smoking a bark-rolled cigarette. He steps into the river, an act believed to be dangerous for him despite the magical precautions, scoops up water, rinses his mouth, and spits it out. Then he blows the cigarette smoke and recites his spells. As a last act he throws the burning faggots into the water "to drive away all the dangers."

For the rest of the month the father may not tie, cut, or press anything, such as sugar cane. Cutting and tying would prevent the child from urinating and defecating, pressing sugar cane would crush the child to death. One man told that he had forgotten this injunction and had tied together a bundle of sugar cane. When he returned home his infant was ill and died on the same day. Before each of these activities is resumed an appropriate spell accompanied by cigarette smoke is chanted.

Once the river has been "blown" the father may fish and paddle his canoe, but for five days thereafter he may not kill a fish by clubbing or he will injure the infant's head. He may not scrape scales from a fish or the navel stump of the infant will swell. He may not drink chicha for five days or the infant will suffer from diarrhea. Chicha drinking is the least dangerous act. Should the father get drunk on chicha before the chicha has been properly spelled the infant will get drunk. On the other hand, when he sobers so will the child.

For the first year of its life the infant has no name (*amyá*) and is not fully a member of the sib. I was told merely that if it were given a name too soon it would die. After the name is bestowed, the child comes under the influence of the Ancients and their growth magic. To appreciate the significance of growth magic it is necessary to understand the special relish the Cubeo have for body size, how much they appreciate heavy arms and bulging calves. Size is a virtue in itself. Thus it is also interesting to note that the term for body is *bahú* and the term for the self, the person, is also built on this stem, *bahúmikũ* (or *ko*).

The naming ceremony (*amindone hino*: giving a name) is conducted by the paternal grandfather, whose privilege it is to give the name. Seated on a bench at the forward and ceremonial end of the house, with his son at his side holding the infant, the grandfather repeatedly recites a chant over a small calabash of milk. The father accompanies him. The milk has been drawn from the child's mother's breast but is referred to as milk from the father's sister, to emphasize the point that it is the child's own sib that will make it grow. The chant itself, as well as the blowing, are forms of growth magic. Each recitation begins with sustained loud whistles followed by the cries *hi i i i i*. At the conclusion of each recitation the grand-

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father blows into the milk, imparting to it his breath (*umé*), which is also his spirit. After several recitations a father's brother brings in *mihi*, in the proper ceremonial manner, tongue lolling and knees bent as though staggering under a great weight. All three drink the bitter brew and the recitation goes on. A naming ceremony I observed among the *Hehénewa* lasted two hours, beginning an hour before noon. It took place on the day of a mourning ceremony but before guests had arrived. The choice of the morning hours, I believe, is to establish the naming as strictly an in-sib affair. In the late afternoon there is a drinking party attended by all the sibs. In the *Hehénewa* case the mourning ceremony took the place of the drinking party. The ceremony concludes with bestowing the name, which is stated simply, "I give you the name ———, which was the name of ———." Then the grandfather blows into a small calabash of genipa with which the infant will be painted and into the calabash of milk. The child is induced to drink the milk. The grandfather now asks the child, "What name do you want?" Its father answers for it and the grandfather acknowledges it. The old man dips his index finger into the calabash of milk and presses it against the infant's heart "to make it grow." Then he asks the child, "What is your name?" The father answers for it. Finally, the old man touches the bridge of the child's nose and the ceremony is over. The bridge of the nose where it joins the forehead is the spot from which the soul will escape at death. By touching it the grandfather has left an opening for the soul to escape at the proper time.

Among the *Bahûkiwa* I had no opportunity to observe a naming ceremony, so the ceremony and the chants had to be described to me by informants. The ceremony as described and as I observed it among the *Hehénewa* was close to identical, but the *Bahûkiwa* chant and the *Hehénewa* chant differ, the latter having more clearly defined references to sib ancestors while the former is more definitely and directly a form of growth magic. In the *Bahûkiwa* chant there is only one reference to an ancestor and that is to a *Hehénewa* ancestor, *Urúhana* (Big one). My informants claimed they could not explain why they used a *Hehénewa* ancestor other than by the obvious reason that they had a right to claim an ancestor of the phratry. It may be, too, that the name, with its connotation of growth, has an irresistible appeal for the *Bahûkiwa*. The *Bahûkiwa* text given by informants is below, followed by the *Hehénewa*.

People of our soil
The milk that is from this place that causes to grow
People who are our offspring

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They are given milk
Milk of our soil
Milk that causes to grow
People who are being grown
People of our soil
People who are our younger sisters
Milk of the calabash
Milk that makes one grow quickly
Milk of our soil
People of our soil
People who are our younger brothers
The first one to grow fat
He [also] will grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
Milk that is nourishing that will make [him] fat
People of our soil
Urúhana who was the first to grow fat
Milk that is nourishing
He will grow fat
Milk that is liquid
Milk that is nourishing
The manioc gruel that is nourishing
Milk of our land
People of our land
Urúhana was the first one
The manioc gruel that he ate
The milk that was given to him.

Milk of our soil
That our offspring may grow
That we may all grow
Milk of the calabash
The offspring of *Urúhana*[*]
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of the calabash it drank
A child was being born to *Urúhana*
The offspring of *Urúhana*
The calabash of *Djurédo*
When she [*Djurédo*] saw the birth
Milk to make it grow, she gave it
Milk of our soil
She saw him grow
The son of *Hihddü*
Her fat offspring
Milk of our soil
She saw them grow

[*] The first child was born to *Hehénawa* Ancients *Urúhana* and his wife *Hihddü*. *Djurédo* was the sister of *Urúhana* and she gave the child milk drawn from her own breast into a calabash.

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Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihŕdū*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urihana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

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her own manioc garden is still another demonstration of linkage-autonomy. Much early marital discord can be attributed to a woman's assertion of independence from her mother-in-law's claim upon her labor. Her manioc plantation is a zone of autonomy vis-à-vis her mother-in-law as well as vis-à-vis her husband.

6. *Sib males and the children's play pack.* This age-grade relationship is still another example of linkage-autonomy. The young boys attach themselves as individuals or as a body to the adult males in economic and in ceremonial activities, but always have the option of detachment and of re-forming themselves as an autonomous play pack.

7. *Ceremonial friendship.* This, as we have already mentioned, may be regarded as a mode of autonomous selection among more distant kin of relationships that are parallel to the prestructured ties between siblings. The sibling relationship is the traditional linkage and the ceremonial friendship is its autonomous counterpart.

8. *Concept of Growth.* The capacity of a society to continue to grow through the proliferation of linkages must also be related to cultural concepts that define the values of social growth. It is clear that linkages do have positive value for the Cubeo. There is great satisfaction in multisib drinking parties and ceremonies that bring together a great many people from many sibs. This suggests some appreciation for growth of the phratry. As for the sib, the feeling for its growth is even more strongly expressed. There is always fear that it will diminish in size and there is pleasure in contemplating that one's own sib is larger than another. But these feelings that one comes upon for growth of phratry and of sib are rather indefinite. They are not clearly voiced, they are not embodied in specific ritual or traditions, and concern for growth is not delegated to any effective authority. The headman may be charged with holding the community together, but he is not expected to make it grow. On the other hand, the cultural concept of growth that is stressed is that of the individual body, of corporeal growth. The clearly articulated Cubeo concern is that a body grow big and fat, that the limbs, the forearms, and the calves, in particular, should bulge. The ancestral cult and postnatal magic including the naming ceremony play on this theme of corporeal development. The ancestral cult does, of course, bring out the value of potency, but again the emphasis is upon personal sexual power and not explicitly upon growth of the sib. I know of no Cubeo magic that deals specifically with growth in numbers. An interest in such growth is only implied. In short, the point to be made is not that the Cubeo lack interest in social growth, but that they place their